THE Discovery of Witches:

IN

Answer to severall QUERIES,

LATELY

Delivered to the Judges of Assize for the County of NORFOLK.

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And now published

By MATTHEW HOPKINS, Witch-finder.

FOR

The Benefit of the whole KINGDOME.

EXOD. 22. 18.

Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.

LONDON,

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Certaine *Queries* anſwered, which have been and are likely to be objected againſt MATTHEW HOPKINS, in his way of finding out *Witches.*

QUERIE I.

THat he muſt needs be the greateſt Witch, Sorcerer, and Wizzard himſelfe, elſe hee could not doe it.

Anſw. If *Satans* kingdome be divided againſt it ſelfe, how ſhall it ſtand?

Querie 2. *If he never went ſo farre as is before mentioned, yet for certaine he met with the Devill, and cheated him of his Booke, wherein were written all the Witches names in* England, *and if he looks on any Witch, he can tell by her countenance what ſhe is; ſo by this, his helpe is from the Devill.*

Anſw. If he had been too hard for the devill and got his book, it had been to his great commendation, and no diſgrace at all: and for judgement in *Phiſiognomie,* he hath no more then any man elſe whatſoever.

Quer. 3. *From whence then proceeded this his skill? was it from his profound learning, or from much reading of learned Authors concerning that ſubject?*

Anſw. From neither of both, but from experience, which though it be meanly eſteemed of, yet the ſureſt and ſafeſt way to judge by.

Quer. 4. *I pray where was this experience gained? and why gained by him and not by others?*

Anſw. The Diſcoverer never travelled far for it, but in *March* 1644. he had ſome ſeven or eight of that horrible ſect of Witches living in the Towne where he lived, a Towne in *Eſſex* called *Maningtree*, with divers other adjacent Witches of other towns, who every ſix weeks in the night (being alwayes on the Friday night) had their meeting cloſe by his houſe, and had their ſeverall ſolemne ſacrifices there offered to the *Devill*, one of which this diſcoverer heard ſpeaking to her *Imps* one night, and bid them goe to another Witch, who was thereupon apprehended, and ſearched by women who had for many yeares knowne the Devills marks, and found to have three teats about her, which honeſt women have not: ſo upon command from the *Juſtice*, they were to keep her from ſleep two or three nights, expecting in that time to ſee her *familiars*, which the fourth night ſhe called in by their ſeverall names, and told them what ſhapes, a quarter of an houre before they came in, there being ten of us in the roome, the firſt ſhe called was

1. *Holt*, who came in like a white kitling.

2. *Jarmara*, who came in like a fat Spaniel without any legs at all, ſhe ſaid ſhe kept him fat, for ſhe clapt her hand on her belly, and ſaid he ſuckt good blood from her body.

3. *Vinegar Tom*, who was like a long-legg'd Greyhound, with an head like an Oxe, with a long taile and broad eyes, who when this diſcoverer ſpoke to, and bade him goe to the place provided for him and his Angels, immediately transformed himſelfe into the ſhape of a child of foure yeeres old without a head, and gave halfe a dozen turnes about the houſe, and vaniſhed at the doore.

4. *Sack and Sugar*, like a black Rabbet.

5. Newes, like a Polcat. All theſe vaniſhed away in a little time. Immediately after this Witch confeſsed ſeverall other Witches, from whom ſhe had her *Imps*, and named to divers women where their marks were, the number of their *Marks*, and *Imps*, and *Imps* names, as *Elemauzer*, *Pyewacket*, *Peckin the Crown*, *Grizzel Greedigut*, *&c.* which no mortall could invent; and upon their ſearches the ſame Markes were found, the ſame number, and in the ſame place, and the like confeſſions from them of the ſame Imps, (though they knew not that we were told before) and ſo

peached

peached one another thereabouts that joyned together in the like damnable practiſe, that in our Hundred in *Eſſex*, 29. were condemned at once, 4. brought 25. Miles to be hanged, where this Diſcoverer lives, for ſending the Devill like a Beare to kill him in his garden, ſo by ſeeing diverſe of the mens Papps, and trying wayes with hundreds of them, he gained this experience, and for ought he knowes any man elſe may find them as well as he and his company, if they had the ſame skill and experience.

Quer. 5. *Many poore People are condemned for having a Pap, or Teat about them, whereas many People (eſpecially antient People) are, and have been a long time troubled with naturall wretts on ſeverall parts of their bodies, and other naturall excreſſencies, as Hemerodes, Piles, Childbearing, &c. and theſe ſhall be judged only by one man alone, and a woman, and ſo accuſed or acquitted.*

Anſw. The parties ſo judging can juſtifie their skill to any, and ſhew good reaſons why ſuch markes are not meerly naturall, neither that they can happen by any ſuch naturall cauſe as is before expreſsed, and for further anſwer for their private judgements alone, it is moſt falſe and untrue, for never was any man tryed by ſearch of his body, but commonly a dozen of the ableſt men in the pariſh or elſe where, were preſent, and moſt commonly as many ancient skilfull matrons and midwives preſent when the women are tryed, which marks not only he, and his company atteſt to be very ſuſpitious, but all beholders, the skilfulleſt of them, doe not approve of them, but likewiſe aſsent that ſuch tokens cannot in their judgements proceed from any the above mentioned Cauſes.

Quer. 6. *It is a thing impoſsible for any man or woman to judge rightly on ſuch marks, they are ſo neare to naturall excreſſencies, and they that finde them, durſt not preſently give Oath they were drawne by evill ſpirits, till they have uſed unlawfull courſes of torture to make them ſay any thing for eaſe and quiet, as who would not do? but I would know the reaſons he ſpeakes of, how, and whereby to diſcover the one from the other, and ſo be ſatisfied in that.*

Anſw. The reaſons in breefe are three, which for the preſent he judgeth to differ from naturall marks; which are, 1. He judgeth by the unuſualnes of the place where he findeth the teats in or on

their

their bodies, being farre diſtant from any uſuall place, from whence ſuch naturall markes proceed, as if a witch plead the markes found are Emerods, if I finde them on the bottome of the back-bone, ſhall I aſsent with him, knowing they are not neere that veine, and ſo others by child-bearing, when it may be they are in the contrary part?

2. They are moſt commonly inſenſible, and feele neither pin, needle, aule, &c. thruſt through them.

3. The often variations and mutations of theſe marks into ſeverall formes, confirmes the matter; as if a Witch hear a month or two before that the *Witch-finder* (as they call him) is comming, they will, and have put out their Imps to others to ſuckle them, even to their owne young and tender children; theſe upon ſearch are found to have dry skinnes and filmes only, and be cloſe to the fleſh, keepe her 24. houres with a diligent eye, that none of her Spirits come in any viſible ſhape to ſuck her; the women have ſeen the next day after her Teats extended out to their former filling length, full of corruption ready to burſt, and leaving her alone then one quarter of an houre, and let the women go up againe, and ſhee will have them drawn by her Imps cloſe againe: *Probatum eſt.* Now for anſwer to their tortures in its due place.

Quer. 7. *How can it poſſibly be that the Devill being a ſpirit, and wants no nutriment or ſuſtentation, ſhould deſire to ſuck any blood? and indeed as he is a ſpirit he cannot draw any ſuch excreſſences, having neither fleſh nor bone, nor can be felt, &c.*

Anſ. He ſeekes not their bloud, as if he could not ſubſiſt without that nouriſhment, but he often repairs to them, and gets it, the more to aggravate the Witches damnation, and to put her in mind of her *Covenant*: and as he is a Spirit and Prince of the ayre, he appeares to them in any ſhape whatſoever, which ſhape is occaſioned by him through joyning of condenſed thickned aire together, and many times doth aſsume ſhapes of many creatures; but to create any thing he cannot do it, it is only proper to God: But in this caſe of drawing out of theſe Teats, he doth really enter into the body, reall, corporeall, ſubſtantiall creature, and forceth that Creature (he working in it) to his deſired ends, and uſeth the organs of that body to ſpeake withall to make his com-

pact

pact up with the Witches, be the creature Cat, Rat, Mouſe, &c.

Quer. 8. *When theſe Paps are fully diſcovered, yet that will not ſerve ſufficiently to convict them, but they muſt be tortured and kept from ſleep two or three nights, to diſtract them, and make them ſay any thing; which is a way to tame a wilde Colt, or Hawke, &c.*

Anſ. In the infancy of this diſcovery it was not only thought fitting, but enjoyned in *Eſſex* and *Suffolke* by the Magiſtrates, with this intention only, becauſe they being kept awake would be more the active to cal their Imps in open view the ſooner to their helpe, which oftentimes have ſo happened; and never or ſeldome did any Witch ever complaine in the time of theit keeping for want of reſt, but after they had beat their heads together in the Goale; and after this uſe was not allowed of by the Judges and other Magiſtrates, it was never ſince uſed, which is a yeare and a halfe ſince, neither were any kept from ſleep by any order or direction ſince; but peradventure their own ſtubborne wills did not let them ſleep, though tendered and offered to them.

Quer. 9. *Beſide that unreaſonable watching, they were extraordinarily walked, till their feet were bliſtered, and ſo forced through that cruelty to confeſſe, &c.*

Anſ. It was in the ſame beginning of this diſcovery, and the meaning of walking of them at the higheſt extent of cruelty, was only they to walke about themſelves the night theywere watched, only to keepe them waking: and the reaſon was this, when they did lye or ſit in a chaire, if they did offer to couch downe, then the watchers were only to deſire them to ſit up and walke about, for indeed when they be ſuffered ſo to couch, immediately comes their Familiars into the room and ſcareth the watchers, and heartneth on the Witch, though contrary to the true meaning of the ſame inſtructions, diverſe have been by ruſticall People, (they hearing them confeſs to be Witches) miſ-uſed, ſpoiled, and abuſed, diverſe whereof have ſuffered for the ſame, but could never be proved againſt this Diſcoverer to have a hand in it, or conſent to it; and hath likewiſe been un-uſed by him and others, ever ſince the time they were kept from ſleepe.

Quer. 10. *But there hath been an abominable, inhumane, and un-*

mercifull tryall of theſe poore creatures, by tying them, and heaving them into the water; a tryall not allowable by Law or conſcience, and I would faine know the reaſons for that.

Anſ. It is not denyed but many were ſo ſerved as had Papps, and floated, others that had none were tryed with them and ſunk, but marke the reaſons.

For firſt the Divels policie is great, in perſwading many to come of their owne accord to be tryed, perswading them their marks are ſo cloſe they ſhall not be found out, ſo as diverſe have come 10. or 12. Miles to be ſearched of their own accord, and hanged for their labour, (as one *Meggs* a Baker did, who lived within 7. Miles of *Norwich*, and was hanged at *Norwich* Aſſizes for witchcraft) then when they find that the Devil tells them falſe they reflect on him, and he (as 40. have confeſsed) adviſeth them to be ſwome, and tels them they ſhall ſinke and be cleared that way, then when they be tryed that way and floate, they ſee the Devill deceives them againe, and have ſo laid open his treacheries.

2. It was never brought in againſt any of them at their tryals as any evidence.

3. King *James* in his *Demonology* ſaith, it is a certaine rule, for (ſaith he) Witches deny their baptiſme when they Covenant with the Devill, water being the ſole element thereof, and therefore ſaith he, when they be heaved into the water, the water refuſeth to receive them into her boſome, (they being ſuch Miſcreants to deny their baptiſme) and ſuffers them to float, as the Froath on the Sea, which the water will not receive, but caſts it up and downe, till it comes to the earthy element the ſhore, and there leaves it to conſume.

4. Obſerve theſe generation of Witches, if they be at any time abuſed by being called Whore, Theefe, &c, by any where they live, they are the readieſt to cry and wring their hands, and ſhed tears in abundance, & run with full and right ſorrowfull acclamations to ſome Juſtice of the Peace, and with many teares make their complaints: but now behold their ſtupidity; nature or the elements reflection from them, when they are accuſed for this horible and damnable ſin of Witchcraft, they never alter or change

their

their countenances, nor let one Teare fall. This by the way, ſwimming (by able Divines whom I reverence) is condemned for no way, and therefore of late hath, and for ever ſhall be left.

Quer. 11. *Oh! but if this torturing Witch-catcher can by all or any of theſe meanes wring out a word or two of confeſsion from any of theſe ſtupified, ignorant, unitelligible, poore ſilly creatures, (though none heare it but himſelfe) he will adde and put her in feare to confeſſe telling her, elſe ſhe ſhall be hanged; but if ſhe doe, he will ſet her at liberty, and ſo put a word into her mouth, and make ſuch a ſilly creature confeſſe ſhe knowes not what.*

Anſw. He is of a better conſcience, and for your better underſtanding of him, he doth thus uncaſe himſelfe to all, and declares what confeſſions (though made by a Witch againſt her ſelfe) he allowes not of, and doth altogether account of no validity, or worthy of credence to be given to it, and ever did ſo account it, and ever likewiſe ſhall.

1. He utterly denyes that confeſſion of a Witch to be of any validity, when it is drawn from her by any torture or violence whatſoever; although after watching, walking, or ſwimming, diverſe have ſuffered, yet peradventure Magiſtrates with much care and diligence did ſolely and fully examine them after ſleepe, and conſideration ſufficient.

2. He utterly denyes that confeſſion of a Witch, which is drawn from her by flattery, viz. *if you will confeſſe you ſhall go home, you ſhall not go to the Goale, nor be hanged, &c.*

3. He utterly denyes that confeſſion of a With, when ſhe confeſſeth any improbability, impoſſibility, as *flying in the ayre, riding on a broom, &c.*

4. He utterly denyes a confeſſion of a Witch, when it is interrogated to her, and words put into her mouth, to be of any force or effect: as to ſay to a ſilly (yet Witch wicked enough) *you have foure Imps have you not?* She anſwers affirmatively, Yes: *did they not ſuck you?* Yes, ſaith ſhe: *Are not their names ſo, and ſo?* Yes, ſaith ſhee: *Did not you ſend ſuch an Impe to kill my child?* Yes ſaith ſhe, this being all her confeſſion after this manner, it is by him accompted nothing, and he earneſtly doth deſire that all Magiſtrates and Jurors would a little more then ever they did, exa-

mine witneſses, about the interrogated confeſſions.

Quer. 12. *If all theſe confeſſions be denyed, I wonder what he will make a confeſſion, for ſure it is, all theſe wayes have been uſed and took for good confeſsions, and many have ſuffered for them, and I know not what, he will then make a confeſsion.*

Anſw. Yes, in brief he will declare what confeſſion of a Witch is of validity and force in his judgement, to hang a Witch: when a Witch is firſt found with teats, then ſequeſtred from her houſe, which is onely to keep her old aſsociates from her, and ſo by good counſell brought into a ſad condition, by underſtanding of the horribleneſs of her ſin, and the judgements threatned againſt her; and knowing the Devils malice and ſubtile circumventions, is brought to remorſe and ſorrow for complying with Satan ſo long, and diſobeying Gods ſacred Commands, doth then deſire to unfold her mind with much bitterneſs, and then without any of the before-mentioned hard uſages or queſtions put to her, doth of her owne accord declare what was the occaſion of the Devils appearing to her, whether ignorance, pride, anger, malice, &c. was predominant over her, ſhe doth then declare what ſpeech they had, what likeneſs he was in, what voice he had, what familiars he ſent her, what number of ſpirits, what names they had, what ſhape they were in, what imployment ſhe ſet them about to ſeverall perſons in ſeverall places, (unknowne to the hearers) all which miſchiefes being proved to be done, at the ſame time ſhe confeſsed to the ſame parties for the ſame cauſe, and all effected, is teſtimony enough againſt her for all her denyall.

Queſt. 13. *How can any poſsibly beleeve that the Devill and the Witch joyning together, ſhould have ſuch power, as the Witches confeſſe, to kill ſuch and ſuch a man, child, horſe, cow, or the like; if we beleeve they can doe what they will, then we derogate from Gods power, who for certaine limits the Devill and the Witch; and I cannot beleeve they have any power at all.*

Anſw. God ſuffers the Devill many times to doe much hurt, and the devill doth play many times the deluder and impoſtor with theſe Witches, in perſwading them that they are the cauſe of ſuch and ſuch a murder wrought by him with their conſents, when and indeed neither he nor they had any hand in it, as thus:

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We muſt needs argue, he is of a long ſtanding, above 6000. yeers, then he muſt needs be the beſt Scholar in all knowledges of arts and tongues, & ſo have the beſt skill in *Phyſicke*, judgment in *Phyſiognomie*, and knowledge of what diſeaſe is reigning or predominant in this or that mans body, (and ſo for cattell too) by reaſon of his long experience. This ſubtile tempter knowing ſuch a man lyable to ſome ſudden diſeaſe, (as by experience I have found) as *Pluriſie*, *Impoſthume*, &c. he reſorts to divers Witches; if they know the man, and ſeek to make a difference between the Witches and the party, it may be by telling them he hath threatned to have them very ſhortly ſearched, and ſo hanged for Witches, then they all conſult with *Satan* to ſave themſelves, and *Satan* ſtands ready prepared, with a *What will you have me doe for you, my deare and neareſt children, covenanted and compacted with me in my helliſh league, and ſealed with your blood, my delicate firebrand-darlings.* Oh thou (ſay they) that at the firſt didſt promiſe to ſave us thy ſervants from any of our deadly enemies diſcovery, and didſt promiſe to avenge and ſlay all thoſe, we pleaſed, that did offend us; Murther that wretch ſuddenly who threatens the down-fall of your loyall ſubjects. He then promiſeth to effect it. Next newes is heard the partie is dead, he comes to the witch, and gets a world of reverence, credence and reſpect for his power and activeneſs, when and indeed the diſeaſe kills the party, not the Witch, nor the Devill, (onely the Devill knew that ſuch a diſeaſe was predominant) and the witch aggravates her damnation by her familiarity and conſent to the Devill, and ſo comes likewiſe in compaſs of the Lawes. This is Satans uſuall impoſtring and deluding, but not his conſtant courſe of proceeding, for he and the witch doe miſchiefe too much. But I would that Magiſtrates and Jurats would a little examine witneſſes when they heare witches confeſs ſuch and ſuch a murder, whether the party had not long time before, or at the time when the witch grew ſuſpected, ſome diſeaſe or other predominant, which might cauſe that iſſue or effect of death.

The Divells ſpeech to the Witches.

Quer. 14. *All that the Witch-finder doth, is to fleece the country of their money, and therefore rides and goes to townes to have imployment, and promiſeth them faire promiſes, and it may be doth no-*

thing for it, and poſſeſſeth many men that they have ſo many wizzards and ſo many witches in their towne, and ſo hartens them on to entertaine him.

Anſ. You doe him a great deale of wrong in every of theſe particulars. For, firſt,

1. He never went to any towne or place, but they rode, writ, or ſent often for him, and were (for ought he knew) glad of him.

2. He is a man that doth diſclaime that ever he detected a witch, or ſaid, Thou art a witch; only after her tryall by ſearch, and their owne confeſſions, he as others may judge.

3. Laſtly, judge how he fleeceth the Country, and inriches himſelfe, by conſidering the vaſt ſumme he takes of every towne, he demands but 20.ſ. a town, & doth ſometimes ride 20. miles for that, & hath no more for all his charges thither and back again (& it may be ſtayes a weeke there) and finde there 3. or 4. witches, or if it be but one, cheap enough, and this is the great ſumme he takes to maintaine his Companie with 3. horſes.

Judicet ullus.

THE END.